



Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/1997/514
3 July 1997

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

LETTER DATED 3 JULY 1997 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF THE
PERMANENT MISSION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA
TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE
SECURITY COUNCIL

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of the Memorandum of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea issued at Pyongyang on 2 July 1997 on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the publication of the 4 July joint communiqué agreed upon between the North and South of Korea on 4 July 1972.

I would be grateful if you would have the text of the present letter and its annex circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) KIM Chang Guk
Ambassador
Chargé d'affaires a.i.



Annex

Memorandum of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, issued at Pyongyang on 2 July 1997

(On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the publication of the 4 July joint communiqué)

The Great Exploits Performed by the Respected Leader Comrade KIM IL SUNG in the History of National Reunification Movement Will Be Immortal.

It is the twenty-fifth year since the publication of the historic 4 July joint communiqué which proclaimed the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity as a reunification programme of the north and the south.

On this occasion, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) issues this memorandum with a view to publicizing once again within and without the immortal exploits performed by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung on the road to national reunification.

Three principles of national reunification - common reunification programme of the north and south

Ushering in the 1970s, the internal and external situation had changed in favour of our people in accomplishing the cause of national reunification.

Under the wise leadership of the great leader, the people in the northern half of our Republic vigorously accelerated the three revolutions, ideological, technical and cultural, holding high the banner of the Juche idea, and thus cemented rock-firm our revolutionary base, a decisive guarantee of national reunification.

The youth and students and patriotic people in south Korea waged a more energetic struggle for independence, democracy and reunification. The ranks of those supporting and encouraging the just cause of our people for national reunification in the international arena increased as days went by.

Faced with resistance from the peoples of the world against its policy of aggression and war and driven into a tight corner as a result of economic crisis, the United States of America promulgated the "Nixon doctrine" and changed its policy towards Korea into one of perpetuating the division of Korea while attempting to seek a way out for itself in the "peace strategy".

Taking advantage of the "two Koreas" policy of the United States, the south Korean authorities advocated so-called "peace" and "negotiations" in order to escape from the crisis resulting from the anti-fascist democratic resistance of the people and to extricate themselves from their lot of international orphan.

The prevailing situation required that decisive measures be taken once again to prevent the danger of permanent division on the Korean peninsula and solve the reunification problem in conformity with the principle of independence.

Reflecting the requirements of the situation prevailing at the time, the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, in his speech on 6 August 1971, advanced the policy of new, wide-ranging negotiations whereby we were ready to come into contact at any time with all political parties including the ruling "Democratic Republican Party", social organizations and individual personages of south Korea.

The south Korean authorities, who had rejected any contact between the north and south, were compelled to respond to our proposal, though in the form of Red Cross talks, which resulted in the opening of preliminary talks for the North-South Red Cross Talks beginning in September 1971, to be followed separately by the High-Level Political Talks between the North and the South.

At his meeting with the south Korean delegate who had come to Pyongyang to participate in the North-South High-Level Talks on 3 May 1972, the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung set forth the three principles of national reunification, which constituted the foundation for solving the reunification problem.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung stated as follows:

"I believe that our reunification question should on all accounts be settled independently without foreign interference and peacefully in accordance with the principle of promoting great national unity."

The south Korean delegate expressed full support to the three principles of national reunification advanced by the great leader, saying that he would take these three principles as the greatest mainstay of reunification. Later, the then south Korean chief executive also told our delegate who had gone to Seoul to participate in the second round of the high-level talks that he approved of and fully supported the three principles advanced by the great leader. Consequently, the 4 July joint communiqué, with the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity as its main contents, was published to world attention on 4 July 1972.

The publication of the 4 July joint communiqué was a great event which proclaimed to the world the three principles of national reunification as the common reunification programme of the north and south. Upon its publication, the joint communiqué aroused enthusiastic international support, and sympathy as well for its justness and truthfulness.

The United Nations General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session, in 1973, adopted unanimously a consensus statement supporting the three principles of national reunification and at its thirtieth session, in 1975, adopted a further consensus statement on respecting the 4 July joint communiqué that could facilitate the independent and peaceful reunification on the Korean peninsula. Resolutions demanding the settlement of the question of Korea's reunification in

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accordance with the three principles were also adopted in the summit conferences and Foreign Ministers' Conferences of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

The three principles of national reunification elucidated by the great leader constitute the main guideline to be adhered to unfailingly by the north and the south in drawing up and executing the reunification policy and the lasting common reunification programme of the nation. The principle of independence is the fundamental question related to the destiny of the country and nation and the starting point of the national reunification movement.

The struggle of our people for national reunification is, in essence, the struggle to put an end to foreign domination and to realize national independence. The division of our country itself was imposed by the foreign forces and the failure to achieve reunification even up until the present, after the end of the cold war, is also attributable to interference and obstructive manoeuvres on the part of the outside forces.

Apart from the independent position, not one problem regarding national reunification can be settled in conformity with the interests and the demands of our nation. Anyone who truly wishes for national reunification should oppose foreign interference and take a position and a stand to achieve reunification by the Korean people themselves.

The principle of peaceful reunification is the fundamental way to resolve the problem of reunification in accordance with the unanimous desires of all fellow countrymen and the peace-loving peoples of the world. Our people, who love their country and nation, whether they be in the north, the south or overseas, do not want to fight against each other.

The peaceful settlement of the question of Korea's reunification will also make a great contribution to achieving peace and security in Asia and the rest of the world.

All the reunification proposals set forth by the DPRK Government so far have been oriented consistently towards achieving the reunification of the country by peaceful means through dialogue and negotiation, not by means of confrontation and war. The principle of great national unity is a guide to action which rallies the entire nation into one under the banner of national reunification.

National reunification is the patriotic task of the whole nation. Apart from the great unity of our nation, we cannot conceive either of the country's reunification or of the common national task. The harmonization and single unity of the whole nation are the immediate goal of national reunification to which we aspire. The entire Korean nation should realize the great unity transcending the differences in ideas, ideals and systems in order to achieve the cause of national reunification.

The great leader advanced the three principles of national reunification of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity and made it the common reunification programme of the nation. This is his immortal

accomplishment which will remain forever in the history of the reunification movement.

Brilliant embodiment of the three principles
of national reunification

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung advanced the three principles of national reunification and took practical measures for their realization:

1. Proposal for founding the Democratic Confederal Republic
of Koryo (DCRK)

The separatist forces within and without at last brought about a rupture in the north-south dialogue which had been arranged with all sincerity in the mid-1970s and again instigated north-south confrontation. And they further intensified their plot to perpetuate Korea's division at the beginning of the 1980s.

The South Korean authorities came out openly with the "theory of the impossibility of reunification" while talking about "reunification in the 2000".

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, in his report to the Sixth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea in October 1980, advanced the proposal for reunification through the confederation formula which embodied the three principles of national reunification in an all-round way, in order to surmount the obstacles in the way of reunification and open up a new road.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung stated as follows:

"Our Party considers that the most realistic and reasonable way to reunify the country independently, peacefully and in accordance with the principle of great national unity is to bring the north and the south together into a confederal State, leaving the ideas and social systems existing in north and south as they are."

The proposal for reunification through confederacy advanced by the great leader is the proposal for founding a unified State in our style based on the principle of one nation and one State, two systems and two Governments.

The DCRK is a unified State of a confederal form in which a unified national Government is established on condition that the north and the south recognize and tolerate each other's ideas and systems, a Government in which the two sides are represented on an equal footing and under which they exercise regional autonomy respectively with equal power of authority and duties.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung elucidated in an all-round way the questions on the founding of the DCRK, including the problem of forming a supreme national confederal assembly with an equal number of representatives from the north and the south and an appropriate number of representatives of overseas nationals under which a confederal standing committee is organized to

discuss and decide on common issues related to the overall interests of the country and nation. He also put forward the 10-point policy to be effected by the DCRK.

The respected leader clarified in the 10-point policy that the DCRK would be an independent, democratic, neutral, non-aligned and peace-loving country, illuminating the policies to be carried out by the confederal State in all fields of politics, the economy, culture, the military, people's livelihood and foreign relations.

Afterwards, the great leader propounded in succession the flexible proposals for expediting the process of reunification through confederacy, including the problem of organizing the supreme national confederal assembly and its confederal standing committee and selecting the co-chairman and the co-president from the north and the south respectively to run the confederal Government in rotation and the matter of the gradual completion of the confederal reunification by way of vesting the regional autonomous governments with more authority on a provisional basis and upgrading the functions of the central Government in the future with a view to further facilitating a nationwide agreement on the proposed confederal reunification.

The proposed confederal reunification is another programme of reunification that enables us to achieve the cause of national reunification through the unity of the nation, excluding foreign interference and without conquering the other or being conquered by the other.

It is a universal form of politics in international society for people with different ideas and principles to enter into an alliance to form and operate a coalition Government and where, in particular, reunification based on one State and two systems turns into the order of the day.

From March 1981 to March 1982, 1.6 billion people from all walks of life, including dignitaries from political and social circles in many countries of the world, joined the international signature campaign in support of the proposal for founding the DCRK. This testifies to the fact that this proposal elicited great support and sympathy.

For its fairness, justness and contemporaneity, the proposal for confederal reunification set forth by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung will surely be implemented.

2. Ten-point programme of great unity of the whole nation

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung took the practical measures to bring about the great national unity with a view to embodying the three principles of national reunification.

The respected leader, in his five-point policy of national reunification enunciated in June 1973, advanced a proposal for the convocation of a Great National Conference comprising people of all walks of life and the

representatives of all the political parties and social organizations in the north and the south.

It was followed by the dispatch of a letter to the various political parties in south Korea with a suggestion to convene the Great National Conference in the joint name of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Korean Democratic Party and the Chondoist-Chongu Party in November of the same year.

In January 1979, the Central Committee of the Democratic Front for National Reunification issued a statement containing its four-point proposal on advancing national reunification by the great unity of the whole nation and, in order to implement this proposal, initiated the establishment of the preparatory committee for national reunification as a preliminary consultation apparatus, replacing the former coordination commission.

The south Korean authorities, however, responded to our fair and just proposal for consultation by cracking down on the reunification forces in south Korea.

The great leader took the active measures to promote the great national unity, particularly in the 1980s, when the proposal for founding the DCRK was put forward.

Upon the initiative of the respected leader, a proposal was made in August 1981 to hold a Conference for the Promotion of National Reunification, with the participation of the representatives of the political parties and organizations from the north, the south and the overseas compatriots and to convene a joint conference in February 1982 to be attended by 100 persons, including politicians from the north, the south and overseas.

The respected leader took practical steps to achieve national reconciliation and unity. The Government of our Republic sent a large quantity of its relief materials to the flood-stricken people in south Korea when they suffered from the severe disaster of the heavy floods in September 1984. The north and south exchanged visits of the Red Cross art troupes and home-visiting groups in 1985, marking the fortieth anniversary of the country's liberation. And under our own initiative, the Pan-National Conference was convened on 15 August 1990. Following that conference, the Pan-National Music Concert for Reunification was held and the Reunification Football Games and Art Performances took place at Pyongyang and Seoul.

In April and June 1991, the north and south formed their single team and played in the forty-first World Table Tennis Championship and the sixth World Youth Football Championship.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, based on the invaluable experiences and successes achieved in the efforts to attain national unity during the earlier period, personally authored and proclaimed the "Ten-Point Programme of Great Unity of the Whole Nation for Reunification of the Country" at the fifth session of the ninth Supreme People's Assembly on 6 April 1993.

The Ten-Point Programme of Great Unity of the Whole Nation sets as its overriding objective the establishment of a pan-national reunified State, which is independent, peaceful and neutral. It stipulates patriotism and the spirit of national independence as its ideal basis for unity and as its underlying principle of unity to promote coexistence, co-prosperity and common interests and subordinates everything to the cause of reunification.

Moreover, the Ten-Point Programme sets forth detailed ways to achieve the great national unity. They include ending all political disputes, dispelling the fear of invasion from both south and north as well as the ideas of prevailing over communism and communization, believing in and uniting each other, recognizing and protecting State ownership, cooperative ownership and private ownership both before reunification and after it, granting special favours to those who have made significant accomplishments for the sake of great national unity and the reunification of the country and to the patriotic martyrs and their descendants, dealing leniently with those who had turned their back on the nation in the past but returned to the patriotic path, repentant of their past and assessing fairly those according to the contributions they have made to the cause of national reunification.

In the year 1994 alone, more than 1.73 billion people from the five continents of the world signed their names in support of the Ten-Point Programme of Great Unity of the Whole Nation, and this affords an illustration of the great sympathy which this programme has enjoyed from world public opinion.

Indeed, the Ten-Point Programme of Great Unity of the Whole Nation put forward by the great leader is a great common charter of the nation which truly reflects the will and desire of our whole nation to attain national reconciliation and reunification.

3. Struggle to bring about a peaceful environment for reunification

The establishment of the preconditions for peaceful reunification embodying the three principles of national reunification is essential for the country's reunification. The Korean peninsula has been in an unstable state of armistice for more than four decades and huge armed forces stand face to face in between the military demarcation line.

Regarding peace arrangements on the Korean peninsula as the first consideration for national reunification, the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung advanced numerous proposals for easing up tensions and made substantial measures therefor. The existence of the armistice system, which means neither a peace mechanism nor a state of war, is responsible for the continued unstable situation in our country.

At the third session of the fifth Supreme People's Assembly, held on 25 March 1974, the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung made a proposal to replace the Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement through talks between the DPRK and the United States, the real parties to the Korean Armistice Agreement. This

proposal has caused great repercussions and elicited a sensitive response in the international arena.

The United Nations General Assembly, at its thirtieth session, in 1975, adopted a resolution on the replacement of the Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement, dismantlement of the "UN Command" and withdrawal of the foreign troops from south Korea. The adoption of this resolution was a manifestation of the firm support of the international community towards the DPRK's proposal. However, the United States and the south Korean authorities, in disregard of the resolution, followed the path of aggravating the situation on the Korean peninsula while conducting their aggressive "Team Spirit" joint military exercises every year since 1976.

As the 1980s began, the United States and the south Korean authorities further intensified their war preparations. After gaining a deep insight into the prevailing situation, the great leader made an epoch-making proposal in January 1984 to conclude a peace agreement replacing the Armistice Agreement between the DPRK and the United States and to adopt a Declaration of Non-aggression between the north and the south by holding tripartite talks - in which south Korea would also participate in the DPRK-United States talks.

Even under the situation where the United States and the south Korean authorities defiantly opposed the DPRK's proposal for tripartite talks, the great leader took the positive step of mobilizing 150,000 Korean People's army men for peaceful construction in 1986 to defuse the tension on the Korean peninsula and advanced a proposal on 23 July 1987 for a massive phased reduction of the armed forces and declared a unilateral reduction of 100,000 of the People's Army forces as a subsequent practical measure.

However, the United States, in a bid to slough off its responsibility as the real party to the Korean Armistice Agreement, appointed a south Korean army man, who was not a party to the Agreement, as the "senior member" of the "UN forces" to the Korean Armistice Commission in March 1991, thereby rendering the armistice mechanism completely defunct.

The continued absence and vacuum of such a military braking mechanism, which had been responsible for implementation of the Armistice Agreement could no longer be allowed to continue under the circumstances, which witnessed the ever-growing confrontations and tensions on the Korean peninsula.

In accordance with the policy advanced by the great leader, the Government of our Republic put forward a proposal on 28 April 1994 to convert the obsolete armistice system into a new peace arrangement to cope with the prevailing situation and, to this end, made a detailed proposal in February 1996 to replace the present Armistice Agreement with an interim agreement and suggested that the United States side convene the DPRK-United States Military general-level talks.

If these talks are held, they will lead to the establishment of a new peace arrangement to replace the armistice system, the product of the cold war on the Korean peninsula, and provide a new decisive phase for maintaining an order of peace and security on the Korean peninsula.

4. The struggle for the embodiment of the three principles of the national reunification through north-south dialogue

The north-south dialogue will substantiate the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity for national reunification.

After the enunciation of the three principles of national reunification, the great leader led the efforts to bring about various dialogues and negotiations, including high-level talks, the Red Cross talks, parliamentary talks and economic talks between the north and the south, in order to embody the three principles.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung took the landmark initiative of demolishing the concrete walls built up on the south side of the military demarcation line, allowing free travel between the north and the south, and holding north-south high-level talks and the north-south summit talks to remove the root cause of the war and accelerate the process of peaceful reunification on the Korean peninsula in the next few years.

Under this initiative, six rounds of the north-south high-level talks were held at the level of Prime Ministers from September 1990 to February 1992, leading to the adoption and implementation of the Agreement on Reconciliation, Cooperation and Exchange between the North and the South and the Joint Declaration of Denuclearization on the Korean peninsula.

The Agreement signed between the north and the south marks a historic event which provided a new milestone in the way of embodying the three principles of national reunification and serves as a common guideline of action between the north and the south aimed at speeding up the process of national reunification in conformity with today's trend towards independence and peace.

Regarding it as his lifetime mission to achieve the cause of national reunification, the great leader made a resolute decision in mid-June 1994 to hold the North-South Summit Talks, an event which had never been recorded in the early history of the national reunification movement, and proposed his initiative to the south side.

That initiative was followed by the preliminary contacts between the north and the south at the Vice-Prime Ministerial level for the summit talks on 28 June 1994. At the contacts, complete agreement was reached on holding the first-ever North-South Summit Talks at Pyongyang from 25 to 27 July 1994.

The great leader devoted his unremitting painstaking efforts to laying out a rapid route to fulfilling the cause of national reunification and to embrace the 70 million fellow countrymen with a firm faith for the reunification through the Pyongyang Summit Talks. But the great leader suddenly passed away, to our regret, at 2 a.m. on 8 July, with the historic autograph of his august name left in the momentous document relating to the problem of national reunification on 7 July 1994.

On this very eve of the third anniversary of the demise of the great leader, the entire Korean people are overwhelmed with their feelings of boundless reverence and thanks to the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung who devoted all possible efforts in his lifetime to bring about the reunification of our nation.

The Government of our Republic will, as in the past, and in the future as well, remain unswerving in safeguarding, defending and carrying through the lines and policies clarified by the great father of the nation Comrade Kim Il Sung in its efforts to achieve the cause of the reunification of the country.

The great leader Comrade Kim Jong Il, during his inspection tour to Panmunjom, symbol of division and confrontation on 24 November of last year, stipulated the three principles of national reunification, the proposed Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo and the Ten-Point Programme of Great Unity of the Whole Nation as the three mainstays - three charters - of national reunification.

This is the summation of the country's reunification policies as set forth by the great leader for nearly half a century.

This indicates the unwavering faith and firm will of the respected Comrade Kim Jong Il who intends to enable our people to live happily in the reunified fatherland with boundless national dignity and honour by certainly realizing the cause of national reunification in our generation, true to the behests of the great leader.

Our fatherland which was divided by outside forces will be reunified without fail according to the intention and will of the great leader and respected General Kim Jong Il.

The reunified motherland will be prosperous forever together with the immortal contributions made by the great leader in the history of the reunification movement.
